1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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tain legends seem to indicate that some *matatoa* exercised, at least temporarily, supremacy over all the tribes.

Serfs

The *kio* were defeated people who were obliged to serve their conquerors or to pay tribute to them with the produce of their lands. Roussel translates *kio* to mean farmer or servant. On Mangareva a *kio* was a farmer who had put himself under the protection of a rich landowner or who cultivated a piece of land leased to him by some wealthy man. The *kio* were the lowest class of small farmers.

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After a tribe had been defeated, those who were not killed and eaten were reduced to the condition of *kio*. Their sufferings and humiliation have been well described by Roussel (190, p. 424) whose information seems to have been obtained first-hand.

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When a war was over, the defeated people were kept in caves which they could leave only during working hours. All became slaves and had to plant a certain portion of land for their respective masters. When these masters no longer needed the services of the *kio*, they sent them home under any pretext but really to have fewer people to feed and especially to make it necessary for them to plant all over again. If a dismissed slave forgot the oft-taught lesson and planted again what he needed for his family, he could expect to be robbed; resistance was useless because it would be paid for by renewed slavery or a new war. Therefore the released slaves planted only one tenth of what they needed for sustenance (p. 120), as they preferred to starve rather than to plant for someone else.

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The tales and legends make frequent allusions to *kio* concealed in caves, pursued to the most uninhabitable parts of the land, and existing there miserably until they were allowed to return to their land or until the fortunes of war had been decided in their favor.

Secret Societies

The following Easter Island legend, if taken literally, seems to indicate the existence of secret societies and of masked persons organized into bands with the purpose of extorting food from the people:

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> Six young men named Aamai went with a distant cousin Toka-ngutu, to make masks. They put the masks on and left Hanga-maihiku where they had been concealed, and went then to Hanga-o-honu. They arrived there at night and entered the houses, saying, "We are gods; we are the god Makemake." They behaved like gods and their voices were like that of a spirit. They said, "We want food, wooden images, dance paddles—all the things you have." When they finished with one house, they went to another, and were again given food and other things from the people there. The seven men left Hango-o-honu loaded with goods and returned to Hanga-mai-hiku where they spent a few days. At night they changed their voices to sound like gods. Men, women and children were terrified and believed they were really gods and gave them food, chickens, wooden images, and all sorts of other things.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

575 The young Aamai and their cousin went to other places also—to Hanga-roa, Mataveri, Vinapu, Ahu Akapu, Tahai, Vai-mata and Ahu-te-peu. They always went at night and were given crayfish, fish, tuna, and eels. The people were afraid and thought that they were really gods.

One day they came to the house of Hipa where they received food. The men who were carrying the food to the Aamai came to a place called Vai-hoata. The Aamai said, "Return to your houses." The men made as if they were leaving, but they concealed themselves. The Aamai took a bath in a well and talked with their natural voices. Then they took the extorted goods on their backs and went on. The men watching them said, "They are not gods but men." When the Aamai had gone, the carriers returned home and told what they had seen. The people said, "Go back and kill these young men. They are not gods, but men who imitate the voice of the gods." The news spread everywhere. That night the Aamai did not return, but Toka-gnutu went alone in the night, wearing his mask. Men were waiting for him. When he entered the house he was seized and killed. The men who had killed him said, "They were just men, they were deceiving us." But all except Toka-gnutu escaped from them.

575 171 Those who advocate a Melanesian origin for the Easter Island culture might use this legend as a strong argument in favor of a possible connection between the Melanesian secret societies of masked people who begged food and terrified the uninitiated and a similar institution on Easter Island which is recorded only in the above tale. However, masks are termed *manu uru*, the term used for tapa kites and tapa images. Tepano is the only informant who claimed that masks were an ancient culture trait, but it must be remembered that Tepano spent many years in Chile where he had opportunities to see masquerades. There is little doubt that the element of the masks is an addition made by Tepano. In the text stress is put on the fact that the young men imitated the voice of the gods, and those spying on them recognized them as human when they spoke in a natural voice. A shortened version of this legend by Routledge (194, p. 224) twenty years ago does not refer to masks but to painting. The fraud was detected when the men were surprised washing their faces in a well. My version mentions the washing which is a meaningless detail if we do not know that they were painted.

SALUTATIONS

201 The well-known Polynesian salutation of pressing noses has never been recorded for Easter Island but must have existed, as we find the word *hongi* (to press noses) still in use with the modern meanings "to smell" and "to kiss." I observed women sniffing their children to manifest their tenderness.

152 Easter Islanders wept when they met friends or relatives from whom they had been separated for a long time. This is related to the widespread Polynesian custom of weeping for those who have died during separation. The word *tangi* (to weep) is used in Easter Island tales in which people meet. I noticed that Easter Islanders, like other Polynesians, were inclined to weep over articles which reminded them of a dead relative. A woman asked me for her father's photograph which had been published in the report of a

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

411 used both as a spear and as a javelin. A site is pointed out near Anakena, where a man throwing down hill killed another at about thirty-five yards. The art of making these mataa is, of course, practically extinct, but one old man, commonly known as "Hé" (fig. 83) brought us some which he had manufactured himself for the Expedition, and which were fairly well wrought.

622 With the exception of the Miru, of which more will be said, there were no chiefs nor any form of government; any man who was expert in war became a leader. The warfare consisted largely of spasmodic and isolated raids; an aggrieved person gathered together his neighbours and descended on the offenders.

726 It is related incidentally that one man, going along the south coast, "found war going on," one set of men having blocked up another in a cave. Another story is told of six men, called Gwaruti-mata-keva, of the clan Tupahotu, who lived in a cave in a certain hillock on the south coast, known as Toa-toa. They went round in a boat to Hanga Piko, stole fish, and returned rapidly to their cave. A hundred men from Hanga Piko then came overland to punish the robbery, and made a fire of grass before the cave in which the men lay hidden. When the attackers assumed that the enemy were all dead from suffocation, they went into the cave; but those within had buried their faces in holes scraped in the earth, and when the men from Hanga Piko entered, they arose and slew the whole hundred.

575 A more interesting fact came out incidentally in connection with this gang of Toa-toa, connecting them with the secret societies found elsewhere in the Pacific. They were, it was said, in the habit of going about after dark with their faces painted red, white, and black, and visiting houses, where they declared they were gods, and demanded food, which the inhabitants accordingly gave them. The fraud, however, finally came to light when one day a man, who was travelling with his servant, saw them washing paint off their faces, "so they knew that they had deceived the people, and the people gathered together and killed them."

727 In these internecine fights fire was very generally set to the enemy's dwellings. ("He often burnt houses," a young man said, pointing to an older one, and the impeachment was not denied.) The ahu, too, were raided and bodies burnt, which [764] seems to be the cause of the burnt bones recorded by certain travellers; there is no reason to suppose there was cremation or sacrifice on Easter Island.